

## Policy Issues for a Multicultural Society Viewed Through Social Networks of Major Immigrant Groups

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### Abstract

All immigrants face a range of challenges, such as language, financial concerns, familial conflicts, and health issues, all while struggling to adapt to an unfamiliar environment. Social networks can play an important role in overcoming such challenges. With an aim to suggesting a policy agenda and directions for a multicultural society, this paper examines the size and type of the social networks of major immigrant groups to South Korea, including migrant workers and marriage-based immigrants, whose numbers are on the rise. Furthermore, it attempts to identify obstacles and contributors to the formation of their social networks.

Keywords: Immigrants, Marriage-based immigrants, Social networks, Multicultural policy, Social integration

While struggling to adapt to a new environment, immigrants must face up to a diverse range of personal, familial, social, and economic challenges. Their integration into society is a process of addressing such issues. The relationships they form with the people surrounding them play a critical role in providing access to information and opportunities, as well as to the private and public support required for dealing with such challenges. Operating under this assumption, this research attempts to define social networks as a form of social capital that can be mobilized to address issues entailed in the social integration process, with a focus on issues of the social networks of immigrants.

The social relationships of immigrants, which are typically referred to as social networks, are essential elements not only in individual immigrants' adaption to a novel society, but also in the broader issues related to an evolved social order and the emerging social integration more appropriate for an increasingly diversified population (Jeong-mi Hwang 2010; Yong-gyun Lee 2007). While an increase in the population of immigrants within a society clearly bring a number of benefits, among the negative aspects can be the failure of immigrants to become integrated into mainstream society.

In particular, social isolation of immigrant groups is one of the issues that can result in serious conflicts and a consequent negative impact on society (Dong-hun Seol et al. 2009; Yi-seon Kim et al. 2010b: 16-20).

In this regard, research into the profiles and functions of the social relationships within which immigrants are engaged, both within their own communities and with people from mainstream society, will be of even more importance in seeking social integration in a multicultural society.

## 1. Trends within the increases by major immigrant groups

### A. Rising number of migrant workers

The migrant worker community, which composes the largest portion of foreign nationals in South Korea, can be largely divided into skilled professionals and unskilled labor workers. Skilled professionals are those serving in fields that require high-level skills such as teaching, research, and technological training, while unskilled labor workers are those employed in the manufacturing, agricultural/fishery, livestock, and housework industries.

According to statistics compiled by the Ministry of Justice, as of October 2011 (Table 1) the number of migrant workers, including undocumented residents, totaled 600,138 individuals, among whom skilled professionals contributed 47,392. This figure has increased from around 20,000 in 2000. Low-skilled labor workers (552,746 persons) are responsible for about 92 percent of the overall non-Korean workforce. As is evident from the figures in the table, the size of the migrant workers' community in South Korea has expanded remarkably in a short period of time, becoming an increasingly important population within the country.

Table 1. Foreign nationals residing in South Korea (October 2011)

Unit: persons

Category		Total	Legal residents	Undocumented residents
Total		600,138	545,369	54,769
Skilled professionals		47,392	44,258	3,134
Unskilled labor workers	Total	552,746	501,111	51,635
	Non-professional employment visa (E-9)	241,554	196,836	44,718
	Visitor employment visa (H-2)	302,042	298,035	4,007
	Labor aboard visa (E-10)	9,150	6,240	2,910

## B. Increasing number of marriage-based immigrants

The second major group in South Korea with international roots is marriage-based immigrants, whose numbers began to swell around the mid-1990s and peaked in the mid-2000s. In fact, this group has provided critical momentum for raising the issue of social integration in an increasingly multicultural society.

The number of marriage based immigrants in South Korea as of September 2011 is estimated to have exceeded 140,000 persons. If those who have obtained Korean citizenship (about 57,000 persons) are included, the number surpasses 200,000.

Table 2. Number of marriage-based immigrants by year

Unit: persons; %

Year		2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	September, 2011
Total		104,205	124,971	145,077	164,753	191,592	200,787
Those without Korean citizenship	Total	93,786	110,362	122,552	125,087	141,654	143,253
	% increase over the previous year	25.0	17.7	11.0	2.1	13.2	3.0 (compared to September, 2010)
Those with Korean citizenship		10,419	14,609	22,525	39,666	49,938	57,534

## 2. Social networks of major immigrant groups

What is important in considering the social networks of the immigrant community in terms of social integration is the relationships that they form within their own community on the one hand, and with domestic groups from the mainstream society on the other. In addition, the balance between the two relationships is worthy of examination.

One of the areas of focus of this paper is the relationship between social networks and social integration. The social networks of immigrants fall along two axes: relationships based on homogeneity, in particular those with others from the same homeland, and relationships based on heterogeneity, in particular those with people from mainstream society. It has been reported that social integration is impacted by the intersection of these dual axes. Based on such discussions, this research has analyzed the development of immigrants' relationships with people of the same nationality and with local Koreans in order to segment their social networks into three clusters: the socially isolated, who in general have yet to develop an active social net-

work; the biased, who lean toward either people from their own country of origin or to local Koreans; and the balanced, who have developed an equilibrium between the two types of relationships. Next, general aspects of social integration are compared by type in order to examine the link between social networks and social integration.

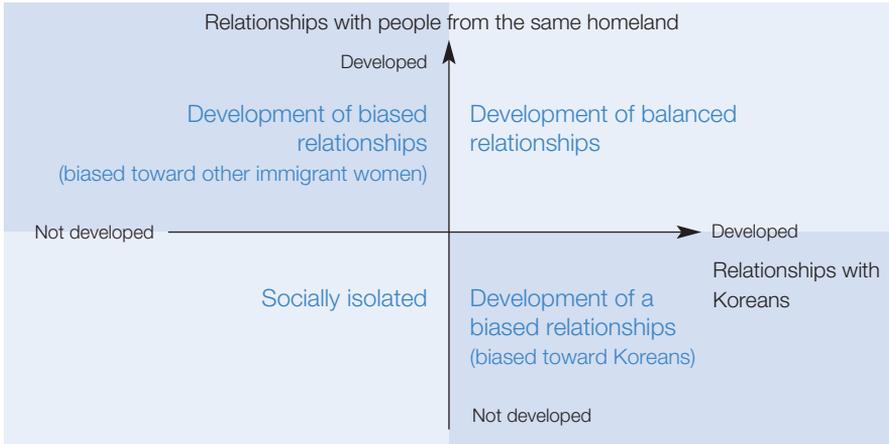


Figure 1. Types of social networks engaged in by immigrants by marriage

### A. Development of social relationships with people from the same homeland and with Koreans

#### 1) Size of social networks

Table 3 illustrates the size of friend groups within major immigrant categories. In terms of close friends from the same homeland, migrant workers showed the greatest number, with 8.37 persons, a much higher figure than that of marriage-based immigrants, with 3.15 persons, and ethnically Korean Chinese, with 2.93 persons. It is assumed that migrant workers possess a higher number of friends from the same homeland because many of them arrived in South Korea through the assistance of friends who had preceded them.

Meanwhile, no great difference is apparent in the number of Korean friends among different immigrant groups, with migrant workers reporting 2.24 persons, ethnically Korean Chinese with 1.26 persons, and international brides with 0.79. When it comes to making friends with local Koreans, it seems that international brides are in the least favorable position, given that their daily routine is more or less restricted to their home, while migrant workers and ethnically Korean Chinese are able meet people at their workplace.

Table 3. Number of friends by immigrant group

Unit: persons (standard deviation)

	Friends from homeland	Korean friends
Migrant workers	8.37 (14.84)	2.24 (5.41)
Ethnically Korean Chinese	2.93 (3.05)	1.26 (1.72)
Female marriage-based immigrants	3.15 (3.43)	0.79 (1.81)

Source: Data for migrant workers and ethnically Korean Chinese were obtained from *Trends in Labor Migration and Policy Agendas in Social Integration* by Kim Seok-ho et al. (2011), and the data for immigrant women through marriage from *Policy Support Measures for Promoting Social Networks of Marriage-based Immigrants* by Kim Yi-seon et al. (2011).

## 2) Type of social network by immigrant group

According to Table 4, there is a clear difference among immigrant groups in terms of whom they consult when they experience personal concerns. In the case of migrant workers and ethnically Korean Chinese, the proportion of those who turn to local Koreans was significantly low (3.7% and 6.7%, respectively), while that of those who seek counsel from friends from their homeland was notably high (72.7% and 82%, respectively). Immigrant women through marriage displayed a more balanced relationship in this situation, with 37.9% and 35.8%, respectively. Given that a relatively high number of women (14.8%) responded that they had no one from whom to seek help, however, there may be more socially isolated individuals within the international bride group compared to other immigrant groups.

Table 4. Who do you talk to when you have personal concerns?

Unit: % (persons)

	Length of stay	Less than 1 year	1 year	2 years	3 years	4 years	5 years or more	Total
Migrant workers	People from homeland	76.1	76.7	71.8	60.6	76.7	74.6	72.7 (611)
	Koreans	2.3	3.3	4.7	3.9	4.4	2.7	3.7 (31)
	Other foreign nationals	8.0	1.1	1.2	3.1	1.7	2.2	2.5 (21)
	No one	6.8	8.9	13.5	12.6	5.0	9.7	9.5 (80)

	Length of stay	Less than 1 year	1 year	2 years	3 years	4 years	5 years or more	Total
Ethnically Korean Chinese	People from homeland	78.6	82.0	82.7	85.9	79.5	80.9	82.0 (820)
	Koreans	12.9	10.0	9.8	11.7	13.6	11.9	6.9 (69)
	Other foreign nationals	1.4	0.7	0.9	1.2	1.1	1.3	1.1 (11)
	No one	11.4	9.3	9.3	6.7	10.2	8.3	8.8 (88)
Female marriage-based immigrants	People from homeland	49.7	45.3	43.3	40.2	36.9	31.1	37.9 (39,593)
	Koreans	26.1	29.7	32.0	33.4	36.8	41.0	35.8 (37,366)
	Other foreign nationals	0.9	1.1	1.2	1.7	1.4	1.4	1.3 (1,389)
	No one	15.0	14.8	14.5	15.2	14.9	14.7	14.8 (15,462)

Regarding with whom they spend time at leisure or in hobby activities, the proportion of the response “No one” was low among migrant workers (8.2%) compared to other groups, implying that the social networks in which they enjoy leisure activities are wider than among ethnically Korean Chinese or international bride groups. The high proportion of ethnically Korean Chinese who indicated people from the same homeland (71.4%) demonstrates the group’s origin-centered social networks. Finally, immigrant women through marriage showed the most active interaction with local Koreans in leisure and/or hobby activities (38.4%), highlighting their more family-oriented lifestyle.

Table 5. Who do you spend time with for leisure and/or hobby activities?

Unit: % (persons)

	Length of stay	Less than 1 year	1 year	2 years	3 years	4 years	5 years or more	Total
Migrant workers	People from homeland	75.0	65.6	65.3	59.8	72.2	72.4	68.6 (576)
	Koreans	5.7	4.4	4.1	4.7	2.8	4.3	4.2 (35)

	Length of stay	Less than 1 year	1 year	2 years	3 years	4 years	5 years or more	Total
	Other foreign nationals	4.5	3.3	2.4	2.4	3.3	2.7	3.0 (25)
	No one	6.8	13.3	12.4	10.2	4.4	4.9	8.2 (69)
Ethnically Korean Chinese	People from homeland	68.6	65.3	72.9	69.9	69.3	75.2	71.4 (714)
	Koreans	12.9	12.0	12.0	12.3	14.8	12.2	7.5 (75)
	Other foreign nationals	2.9	1.3	1.8	4.3	2.3	1.7	1.5 (15)
	No one	17.1	22.7	17.3	19.0	20.5	13.5	17.5 (175)
Female marriage-based immigrants	People from homeland	30.6	32.4	31.5	28.5	27.0	22.2	26.6 (26,857)
	Koreans	37.0	34.6	35.2	37.0	37.6	41.4	38.4 (38,741)
	Other foreign nationals	2.1	2.5	2.9	2.4	2.3	2.0	2.3 (2,284)
	No one	21.5	21.6	21.5	22.5	23.8	23.8	22.9 (23,043)

Regarding the constitution of people with whom they attend congratulatory and/or sympathetic events such as birthday parties, the proportion of people from the same homeland was highest among ethnically Korean Chinese with 72.9%, followed by migrant workers with 67.4% and immigrant women through marriage with 14.5%. The reason underlying the high proportion of international brides who attend such events with Koreans (52.7%) appears to stem from the fact that they gain a number of such occasions through their husbands.

Table 6. With whom do you attend congratulatory/sympathetic events such as birthday parties?

Unit: % (persons)

	Length of stay	Less than 1 year	1 year	2 years	3 years	4 years	5 years or more	Total
Migrant workers	People from homeland	65.9	63.3	68.2	59.1	72.2	70.3	67.4(566)

	Length of stay	Less than 1 year	1 year	2 years	3 years	4 years	5 years or more	Total
	Koreans	4.5	3.3	2.9	5.5	3.9	5.9	4.4(37)
	Other foreign nationals	4.5	2.2	2.9	2.4	0.6	4.3	2.7(23)
	No one	12.5	15.6	10.0	11.0	4.4	7.6	9.3(78)
Ethnically Korean Chinese	People from homeland	68.6	71.3	73.8	71.8	64.8	76.9	72.9(729)
	Koreans	12.9	14.7	12.0	17.2	19.3	15.5	7.7(77)
	Other foreign nationals	4.3	2.0	2.2	4.3	2.3	1.7	2.0(20)
	No one	15.7	16.7	16.4	16.6	20.5	11.9	15.4(154)
Female marriage-based immigrants	People from homeland	13.8	15.7	15.3	15.4	14.9	13.6	14.5(14,479)
	Koreans	52.3	52.9	53.8	53.1	51.9	52.5	52.7(52,736)
	Other foreign nationals	1.0	1.1	1.4	1.3	1.1	1.3	1.3(1,269)
	No one	22.7	18.6	16.0	16.7	18.5	15.7	17.1(17,104)

These findings can be summarized as follows. As for migrant workers, while the proportion of their relationships with people from their homeland gradually declines up until three years of stay, it surges from their fourth year. In other words, those who have stayed longer have more secure social networks based around people from their homelands. Ethnically Korean Chinese show a stronger relationship with people from their homeland compared to the other two groups, indicating that their social networks are of more a closed nature. This may be a subject for further attention, since a closed social network is not necessarily conducive to social integration.

In the case of immigrant women who have joined Korean families, more balanced relationships between people from their homelands and Koreans can be witnessed in terms of who they turn to when they seek help and with whom they spend leisure time or engage in hobby-related activities. Contrasting with migrant workers, whose interactions with Koreans do not increase commensurate with their length of stay, marriage-based immigrant women appear to

be increasingly engaged in relationships with Koreans the longer they remain, which reflects their life in the company of their Korean husbands and family members. In conclusion, the distinct patterns and manners in which different immigrant groups interact with locals should stand at top of mind when designing social integration policies.

### 3. Obstacles and contributors to the establishment of social networks

#### A. Korean language ability as a basis for establishing relationships

The ability to speak Korean is one of the foremost essential tools for both assimilating to Korean society and establishing and expanding social relationships with locals. In other words, whether or not one can freely express oneself in Korean can present either an obstacle or a contributor to the expansion of social networks.

According to an interview-based study conducted by Yi-seon Kim et al. (2011), immigrant women through marriage confessed that they feel withdrawn and even fearful in the presence of Koreans, as their interactions with mainstream Koreans are mainly restricted to their extended family members. For this reason, these women tend to avoid engagement with other Koreans while simultaneously desiring it.

Case 6, from Yi-seon Kim et al. (2011): Wherever I go, it is difficult because I don't speak Korean. It's hard. It's just my family who talks with me and understands me... They say, "She's a foreigner. She doesn't speak Korean. She makes mistakes." I think they were like that because I'm a foreigner. In the beginning I was withdrawn so that I wouldn't make a mistake when I talked... I was afraid that people would make fun of me.

Few migrant workers gain personal experience in interacting with local Koreans. As such, a lack of opportunity is one factor in their failure to associate with Koreans. However, migrant workers also point to their lack of Korean-language skills. As they consider themselves to be a minority in a society, they would prefer that mainstream Koreans treat them equally but also make an effort to communicate with migrant workers.

Migrant worker, from Seok-ho Kim et al. (2011): We don't have much time to meet Koreans and most of us don't speak Korean well. I have a lot of things that I want to talk about, but I can't express them fully. If you want to become good friends with someone you have to be able to understand each other... but you can't. I think that's a major problem. You can only really understand other people by talking. Whether the person

is good or bad... if you can talk nicely, you can understand each other...

Korean language education offered by the government to immigrants is being provided through some 200 multicultural family support centers across the country in the form of home visits and collective education, meaning that immigrant women in their early phases of international marriages enjoy a greater opportunity to benefit from such programs compared to other immigrant groups. However, venues for mid- or higher level language education remain limited. When it comes to migrant workers, their window for learning Korean through official programs is significantly narrow, as the number of educational programs offered through migrant worker support centers is insufficient and workers generally are required to work during daytime hours. In this regard, the quantity and quality of continuing Korean language education and availability issues need to be completely reviewed from the perspective of social integration.

### B. Discriminatory culture that discourages relationships with Koreans

Koreans' negative prejudices and discriminatory attitudes towards immigrants also function as a major obstacle that leads immigrants to balk at associating with Koreans. A survey on the degree of acceptance of immigrants by Koreans (Mu-suk Min et al. 2010) found that more than 40% of the 1,011 respondents were reluctant to visit immigrant neighborhoods and over 30% were hesitant to sit on a subway or bus alongside people from developing countries.

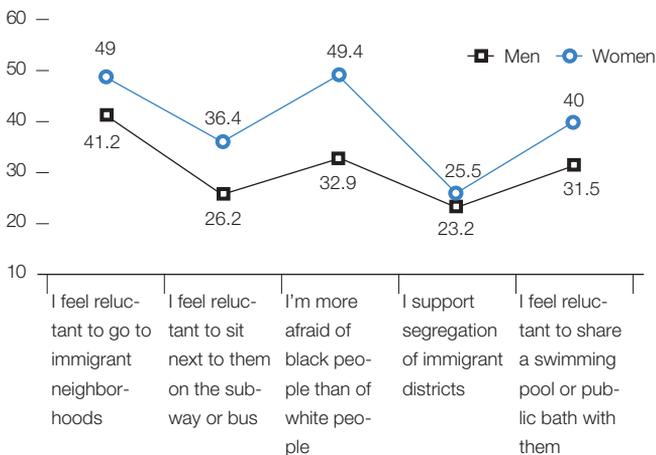


Figure 2. Comparison by gender of Koreans' level of acceptance toward immigrants (Unit: %)

In particular, Korean respondents harbored dual attitudes, treating people from more developed countries distinctly from those from developing countries. Such contrasting attitudes and perceptions further lower Koreans' acceptance of immigrants (Mu-suk Min et al. 2010; Jeong-mi Hwang et al. 2007). With the majority of foreign nationals in South Korea being either migrant workers or international brides and mainly originating from China and Southeast Asian countries, a significant number of immigrants frequently encounter unwelcoming attitudes from native Koreans' in their daily lives and/or workplaces.

According to Table 7, 35% to 45% of migrant workers, ethnically Korean Chinese, and marriage-based immigrants have experienced discrimination by Koreans.

Table 7. Experience of discrimination by immigrant group

Unit: % (persons)

	Experience of discrimination		Total
	Yes	No	
Migrant workers	45.4	54.6	100.0 (747)
Ethnically Korean Chinese	43.2	56.8	100.0 (996)
Marriage-based immigrants	35.0	65.0	100.0 (116,491)

When they view the potential for relationships with Koreans resulting in a negative impact on themselves and/or their families, they feel reluctant to expand their networking with Koreans, even if they perceive such relationships to be social assets. Given this finding, in order to support more active association with Koreans by immigrants, it is considered that a range of programs need to be introduced in order to promote a shift in Koreans' negative perceptions and attitudes regarding immigrants. Since the bulk of existing programs to promote multicultural acceptance are being implemented as part of school education, additional programs need to be offered targeting adults in a wider variety of venues across society, including workplaces.

### C. Value and limitations of social relationships focused around people from homeland

For immigrants who must adapt to a new, unfamiliar environment, friends and organizations from their homeland are essential in obtaining the resources and support required for survival in a foreign country. Relationships with people from their homeland are also an important source through which marriage-based immigrants can reaffirm their identity when they experience difficulties in communicating with their spouses and family members or are unable to share familiar food and cultural items.

Case 3, from Yi-seon Kim et al. (2011): I have one friend from Cambodia... I tell her everything... about difficulties... we meet often because we live nearby. We make food together... we grow vegetables, citron trees, and Cambodian peppers together... There is another (woman) (who's been here) for six months. We talk on the phone. I help her when she needs it... It's hard in the beginning. I remember how hard it was at first. She cannot eat Korean side dishes. She cannot communicate well with her husband about what she wants to eat and things like that. Sometimes I interpret for her on the phone.

However, the value of relationships with people from the same homeland declines after the initial settlement period is completed, due to its limitations as a source of information and of further resources. In addition, because of the nature of the relationships formed within a small community, the closed nature of the network often becomes a source of burden or stress. Immigrant women who are married to Korean men grow weary of complaints of familial conflicts and the constant demands for support from other immigrant women.

Case 4, from Yi-seon Kim et al. (2011): There are two Filipino stores (in this area)... But lots of gossip circulates there... People talk behind others' backs... We don't really talk deeply. Not all Filipinos are like that, but some are mean... like 'you've been here just for a few years... we've been here for over ten years... why are you sitting there?'... that kind of talk... I don't know why they do that. I don't see them often. People talk about their fights with their husbands... someone's going to divorce... they talk about those things a lot. I don't get involved there.

Unlike the early benefits of relationships with people from the same homeland, their negative aspects and the limitations on the expansion of such relationships can serve as an obstacle to their eventual settlement in society.

Immigrant women who arrived in this country via marriage gradually expand their interpersonal networks by meeting their neighbors, their children's teachers, and others they grow to know through family members. Migrant workers, however, appear to experience greater restrictions on the expansion of their social networks, as they are less likely to benefit from familial relationships.

While marriage-based immigrant women show a growing desire to develop their networks with Koreans after recognizing the limited nature as a source of information and resources of relationships with people from their homeland, migrant workers have reduced motivation to engage with Koreans because their reasons for stay are more basic compared to international brides. Thus, it is of relatively greater benefit for them to associate with their peers in acquiring information regarding shared issues such as legal status, salary, and workplaces.

## D. Familial attitudes and support

Regarding immigrants' establishment of social networks with Koreans, support from the people surrounding them has been identified in previous studies as a key factor (Jeong-mi Hwang et al. 2009). As to international women who are living with Korean spouses, in particular, family influence and support is the pivotal element in their social networks.

However, families of international brides often discourage them or object when these women meet with other people from their homeland. As discussed above, negative attitudes of family members are likely to impede the women's interactions with individuals falling outside of their family boundaries.

The negative attitudes of Korean family members of immigrant women are generally focused on people from the women's homelands, especially in the early years of their marriage, often leading to family conflict.

Case 5, from Yi-seon Kim et al. (2011): At first my husband prevented me from meeting other Russians. He wanted me to meet Koreans. He said that now I'm Korean I should learn and study Korean. There's no good coming from meeting other Russians. He spoke like that and I didn't like it.

As noted, Korean families are more supportive of wives meeting Korean nationals. They view interactions with Koreans more positively and even encourage them to do so.

Case 6, from Yi-seon Kim et al. (2011): My mother-in-law told me that I should hang out with Koreans.

## E. Opportunities to participate in various activities that can aid in the expansion of their social networks

Table 8 details the frequency of attending gatherings by immigrant group. In the case of migrant workers, the longer they remain in Korea the more frequent is their participation in meetings with others from their homelands. However, marriage-based immigrant women increase their attendance at parents' meetings and less frequently meet with people from their homelands. Ethnically Korean Chinese increase their participation in both types of meetings. Although the frequency of participation by international brides in meetings with Korean friends could not be compared due to discrepancies between the questions, it is reasonable to expect that their participation in parents' meetings increases as their children grow. Unlike this group, other immigrant groups may not have much chance to expand their relationships with local Koreans.

Table 8. Changes in participation in meetings and/or activities by length of stay

Unit: points\*

	Length of stay	Less than 1 year	1 year	2 years	3 years	4 years	5 years or more	Total
Migrant workers	Meetings with people from homeland	2.82	1.88	2.52	2.46	2.56	2.60	2.50
	Meetings with Koreans	1.04	1.06	0.84	1.45	1.25	1.23	1.14
Ethnically Korean Chinese	Meetings with people from homeland	2.62	2.96	2.76	2.76	2.81	2.94	2.81
	Meetings with Koreans	1.88	2.09	2.17	2.19	2.03	2.22	2.13
Female marriage-based immigrants	Meetings with people from homeland	2.15	2.15	2.13	1.94	1.62	1.51	1.79
	Meetings with Koreans	0.59	0.45	0.54	0.60	0.70	1.12	0.86

One of the locations where immigrants may easily encounter Koreans is community support organizations, such as multicultural family support centers, women's resources development centers, welfare centers, and religious organizations. Such organizations provide education in Korean language and culture and more recently have come to include a diverse range of empowerment programs. Some of these programs include training for home-visit teachers and multicultural lecturers, as well as vocational training. Such programs increase their opportunities to meet not only their peers, but also other Koreans. Furthermore, these programs can serve as a venue for forging self-help groups among immigrants or within immigrant communities (Jeong-mi Hwang et al. 2009). Given that these organizations provide programs mainly targeting international brides, however, there is a need for them to expand their programs in order to promote exchanges between Koreans and additional immigrant groups as well.

#### 4. Policy issues for a multicultural society in terms of promoting social networks among major immigrant groups

It is expected that the immigrant community in South Korea will grow more diverse to include marriage-based immigrants, migrant workers, ethnically Korean Chinese, as well as international students. Accordingly, their manners of engaging with Korean society will also become increasingly varied, and this could serve as either a positive movement or a source of social con-

flict. That said, the government's policies do not seem to be well-equipped to respond effectively to these potential issues.

The existing multicultural policies could almost be better referred to as multicultural family support policies, given how disproportionately they are focused on support for the settlement of international brides and on their childcare needs. The scale of support provided in this area is estimated to be even greater if both governmental budgets and programs and financial aid from the private sector are considered. To the contrary, policies related to migrant workers and ethnically Korean Chinese regarding visitor employment visas remain in the margins while support from the private sector is similarly scarce. Despite the high demand for Korean language education among migrant workers and the finding that they perceive language to be a major obstacle in establishing relationships with Koreans, public efforts to meet their needs remain highly limited.

The South Korean government is reluctant to allocate resources to the provision of support for their social networking and integration into South Korean society, since it considers them to be temporary visitors who will return to their countries of origin once their sojourns expire. Meanwhile, the general public holds prejudiced, discriminatory attitudes toward them, perceiving them to be a temporary labor force compensating for the shortage of labor in "3D" (difficult, dirty, and dangerous) industries.

Since it is expected that an increasing number of ethnically Korean Chinese will opt for longer-term stays or even for obtaining citizenship as the government is planning to introduce policies more favorable to them, researchers suggest that the government should begin preparations to address a number of issues that will result from such policies, including social welfare, housing, and sojourning rights (Jin-yeong Lee 2010; Hong Choi 2011). According to a study by Seok-ho Kim (2011) which found that 62% of ethnically Korean Chinese who were working in the country expressed a desire to remain after their sojourning period, it is reasonable to include this group in the government's multicultural policies. In this regard, the current direction of multicultural policies heavily focused on marriage-based immigrant women and their children should be reviewed and a more comprehensive policy agenda that covers a wider range of immigrants is required.

Meanwhile, there is also a need for review as to whether or not policy responses to marriage-based immigrants are directed in a manner that facilitates their integration into society. Critics have argued that the government's policy approach to marriage-based immigrant women and their children alienates them as "others" who require assistance and confines them within the boundaries of family, pregnancy, childbirth, and childcare (Seon-ae Jeong 2007; Hye-sun Kim 2008: 58-64; Yong-jae Lee 2010; Yeong-ju Kim 2010). Others express concern that the prevalent standpoint of viewing these women as beneficiaries of support will reinforce public prejudice against them, namely painting them as a burden on society, and hinder their consideration as being capable agents contributing to societal development. Furthermore, the findings

of Sub-task 3 suggest that support for these women, which remains focused on language education and on their perceived roles within the family, such as childcare, is insufficient to allow them acquire the social resources and develop relationships with local Koreans that are necessary to address the diversity of issues they encounter as part of the process of their integration into society.

The forms in which immigrants establish and expand their interpersonal networks in South Korean society not only affect their personal safety, health, and family life, but also impact their local communities and the overall society in which they reside as members. In this regard, efforts are called for to orient the direction of policies in such a way as to support them in the development of multi-faceted social relationships as independent members of society.

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